G. W.

much appearance of fruit; and the paucity of the result, though matter of regret in itself, is yet of consequence to be known, in estimating the Mackenzie Manuscripts: a most valuable portion of which was supposed to be the Inscriptions, or copies of Inscriptions, therein contained.

Madras, 10*th* }
August 1844. }

W. TAYLOR.

*** *The work, herein reported, was done in* 1838.

III.—*Translation and Analysis of the ancient documents engraved on copper in possession of the Syrian Christians and Jews of Malabar. By the Rev. H. Gundert.*

As it does not seem that the Jewish and Syrian documents preserved in Cochin and Cottayam have been sufficiently made use of for the purpose of elucidating the ancient history of this coast, any endeavour to set their contents before the learned public may surely command some attention. But there is good reason to expect that the discovery of an intimate connexion between the contents of the several documents settling the doubts about the existence of Jewish and Christian principalities in the Malayalam country will call forth a new and more diligent investigation than has ever been bestowed on these valuable records.

The Syrian tables for an insight and fac-simile of which I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Mr. Baily at Cottayam, are

I. A long and broad copper instrument written on both sides with old Tamil letters mixed with a good deal of Grantham or modern Malayalam letters. This being by far the easiest I shall copy and explain in the first place. It is a grant of the Perumál Víra Rághava to Iravi Corttan of Codungalur, making over to him the little principality, Manigrámam and elevating him to the position of sovereign merchant of Kerala.

II. The other Syrian document consists of five copper-sheets, of much smaller size with seven pages Tamil-Malayalam, apparently written by different hands, the letters less distinct and in some places injured by the breaking of the plates and corrosion, and two pages, written in two unknown languages (Kufic) with four Hebrew signatures. It is an act by which one Maruwán Sapír Isó (the Shapur or Xabro of the Syrians ?) transfers a piece of ground near the sea shore, with several families of different Heathen casts to a community and church, Tarisápalli, built by one Isó dáta virái, the grant being made with the Palace Major's sanction (probably the Commissioner of Perumál Sthánu Ravi Gupta) and with the concurrence of the Vénádu (Travancore) king, Anjuwannam and Manigramam that is the Jewish and Christian dynasties, being appointed joint protectors of the land and the Church endowed. No princes are mentioned as witnesses, except the heir of the Travancore and the neighbouring Lords. In consequence I suppose this tenure inferior to the first and third,—Manigramam and Anjuwannum were held directly under the Perumál, this church-land under the provincial authorities.

III. The Jewish tables, two with three pages in Malayalam-Tamil are preserved in Cochin at present by a Rabbi Samuel who also shows the old Hebrew translation and permitted me to copy it. It is the best preserved, tho' certainly oldest of the three documents, the language with the exception of one word

—uniform Tamil, the writing more regular than that of the others. It contains a grant of Anjuwannam, the principality just mentioned, to Joseph Rabban, given by the Perumál Bháskara Ravi Varmá and attested by the chief Raja's of Kerala.

Here follows the document I. representing literally its Tamil characters in modern Tamil, the Grantham in the present Malayalam Alpbabet.

pl. lin. (1) ഴനിശ്രീ മഹാഗണവതെനമിഃ ശ്രീ
ഭൂവാലനന്നവതി ശ്രീവിന്നകൊന്ദ (2) ഗകുവ
ന്നിന്നാദിയായി മുറമുറൈയെ പലനൂറുയിരത്തനാണ
ഗ്ഗ (3) ചെങ്കോല നടത്തതായിനിന്ന ശ്രീവിന്നന്നഴവ
ഗകുവ ന്നിക്കുക്കിന്ന വിന്നാ (4) ജ്ഞംചെല്ലാ യിനി
ന്ന മകരത്തുള്വിയാഴമ മീനഞ്ഞായറു ഇരുപതതൊനാറു
(5) ചെന്ന ചനിഴാഴ്ചനാള് പെരുങ്കോയിലകത്തി
രുന്നരുള മകൊത്തയർ പടിണ (6) തത്തുരവികൊർത്ത
തനുയചെരമാൻ ലൊകപെരുഞ് ചെടിഗകുമണികഞ്ഞി
രാമ (7) പടങ്ങുതതൊന്തം—വിളാവാടെയുമ പവനത
ന്നാങ്കും വെട പെറുമകുതത (8) വളെഞ്ഞിയമു (ം
wanted) വളഞ്ഞിയതതിലനിചചെടുമ്പ മുറചചൊലലുമ
മുനന (9)ടെയുമ വഞ്ചിവാതിമും ഗാനും വങ്കൽവി
ടുക്കും പാവാടയുമ ഐഞ്ഞൊടുമും കൊന്നറ (10)
കുടയുമ വടുകപപറെയുമ ഇടുപടി തൊരണമും നാലു
ചെരികുകും തനി (ii. 1.) ചചെടുമ്പ കുതതൊന്തം —വാ
ണിയരുമ ഐഞ്ഞിംകൂമാ ടുനെചമം ന്നങ്ങിമകുട്ടനെ
ാം— (2) നകരത്തുകകു കർത്തനാവായ ന്നാനവിഗകാനെ
നകു പറകൊണ്ടു ളനനു നിറകൊണ (3) ടുതുകകിനാൽ
കൊണടുപോകി എണണിനറതിലുമ എടുകകിനറതിലുമ ഉവി

(4) ഞെടി ഗാരുന്നൊടുകൂടിയൊടുവി ഉടെ
ണ്ണൊടുഉടയിൽ ഉണ്ണതളപപെർ (5)പപടടതിണുമ
തരുമഅതിനടിതത കുങകമുമ കൂടകൊടുങകൂ ഞാർ അഴിവി
(6) യൊടികൊപുരതതൊടിവ്വിനൊഷാൽ നാലുതളിയും
തളികകടിതത കിരാമതതൊഴട (7) യിൽ നീർമുതലായിചെപ
പെടി എഴുതി കുടിതതൊം—ചെരമാൻ ലൊകപ്പെരുഞ
ചെ (8) ടഴിയാന ഉടവ്വികൊരനരുക്ക ഇവൻമകകൾ
മകക ൾക്കെ വഴിവഴിയെ വൊാകകടുടെ (9) ഞാം-
ഇതറിയും പൻറിയൂർ കിരാമമു (ം wanted) ചൊകിരക
കിരാമമും അറിയകകുടിതതൊം—വെ (10) ണ്ടും ഓടു
നാടുമറിയകകുടിതെതാം—ഏറുനാടുമ വണ്ടുവനാടുമറി
യകകുടിതതൊമ പരു (11) ാദിനു കണ്ടുള്ള നാലെട
കടുടെഞാം—ഇവർകളറിയ ചെപപെടെഴുതിയ ചെര
മാൻ ലൊകപപെരുന്ത കട (12) ടാൻ നമ്പിചടെ
യൻ ാകൈയെഴുത്ത.

Translation : Pl. i.

Hari Srí Adoration to Ganapati. 1

The blessed rule having devolved from the earth-ruler 2
Manlord Chacravarti Víra Kérala (the first of the line) thro'
regular succession upon Srí Víra Rághava Chacravarti, 3
now wielding the sceptre for many 100,000 years (in the
year) Jupiter in Capricornus, the 21st of the Mína month, 4
Saturday, Róhani asterism, the following grant was made 5
in the Royal palace (of the Perumál)—We have given to
Iravi Corttan of Mahódéverpattnam, (henceforth to be called 6
Grand Merchant of the Chéramán world (Kérala), the 7
Lordship of Manigrámam. We also have given to him (the
right of) the feast-cloth (?) house pillars (or pictured rooms ?) 8
all the revenue, the curved sword (or dagger) and in (or

with) the sword the sovereign merchantship, the right of
proclamation, the privilege of having forerunners, the five 9
musical instruments, the conch, the light (or torch burning)
by day, the spreading cloth, litter, Royal umbrella, Vaduca
drum (drum of the Telugu's or of Bhairava?) the gateway 10
with seats and ornamental arches, and the sovereign mer- Pl. ii. l.
chantship over the four classes (or streets)—also the oilmakers
and the five kinds of artificers we have subjected to him (or
given as slaves to him)—We have given as eternal (liter- 2
ally "water"—) possession to Iravi Corttan the lord of the
town, the brokerage and due customs of all that may be mea-
sured by the para, weighed by the balance, stretched by 3
the line, of all that may be counted or carried, contained
within salt, sugar, musk, and lamp oil, or whatever it be— 4
namely within the river-mouth of Codungalur and the 5
tower, or between the four Talis (temples of the deputy Brah- 6
mans) and the Gramams belonging to them—We have 7
given it by an unreserved tenure to Iravi Corttan Grand 8
Merchant of the Chéramán world and to his sons and son's
sons in proper successsion.

Witnesses are:—

With the knowledge of the two, 9
Brahman divisions of Panniyúr and Chowaram village have
we given it; with the knowledge of the Vénádu and 10
Ódunádu (rulers) have we given it; with the knowledge of
the Eránádu and Valluwa nádu (rulers) have we given it;
given for the time that sun and moon shall last; with 11
the knowledge of the above, written by Nambi Chaḍayan 12
grand goldsmsth of the Chéramán world.

Remarks.

1. The term Chacravarti I take for a translation of the common Malayalam appellation, Perumál (grand per-

son) signifying the head of the whole Kérala. The present Malayalam tradition agrees with the document in making a Kérala (or Kéya) the first of the Perumáls. Víra Kérala is still the hereditary name of the Cochin Rajas, whom the old Jewish translation of III makes to be the descendants of the Perumáls.

Iravi Corttan must be a Nasráni name though none of the Syrian priests whom I saw could explain it or had ever heard of it. Is it to be brought in connexion with the Baliartes of the Portuguese?

5. Mahódéver patnam, the old name of Coḍunrílúr, generally Coḍungalur,* (probably from S. *Mahas*, worship, feast). The traditions of Jews, Christians, Brahmans and of the Kérala Ulpatti agree in making Codungalur the residence of the Perumáls and the first resort of the western shipping. The place is identified with the Tiruwanjiculam river-harbour† which one Chéramán Perumál is said to have declared the best of the existing 18 harbours of Kerala, from whence also he is said to have sailed for Arabia. The Kérala Mahatmyan, a Sanscrit work chiefly devoted to the praises of Colattiri‡ and Travancore, though it makes mention of nearly all the residences of the Malabar Rajas, knows nothing of the Royal glory of the town, which it calls Sri Kótara puri, and extols as being rich in bazars filled with all sorts of merchandize and famous for the great Bharani festival of Bhadra Cali celebrated with the greatest profusion. I conclude from this connected with the silence of I and III that the Colattiri was on the whole jealous of the Perumáls, and at least in the time of these documents independent of him.

There is at present a Raja at Codungalur one of the five

* Cranganore.
† Lat. 10° 13' N. } Eds.
‡ Cherical.

Cshatriya families mentioned in the Kerala Ulpatti (p. 51 പടിഞ്ഞാറ്റിടം "western court") now a feudatory of the Cochi or Perimpadappu Raja. May the Musiris of the ancients not be sought here? (see the Muyiri-codu of III.)

7. Manigramam. I no where met with a recollection of this name, until I fell in with the South Indian Repository of April 1838. There, a Syrian tradition relates (p. 192) that the Syrian Christians sorely tried by a heathen conjurer (the poet Mánica Váchakar?) at last divided into 2 parties, one of 96 families who submitted to heathen purification and adopted the conjurers tenets, whence they were called Manigramacar, whilst the other party, consisting at last of only 8 families, stood fast and were called Confessors, Dareaygul, [in the original probably தரிசையாகள்]. Possibly this last name may be found in the next document. So much is sure that Manigramacar could only be the name of the relations and connexions of Iravi Corttan, or of that Christian section which by its commerce and riches acquired the peculiar favour of the Perumals. May not the tradition give a witness to a certain amount of christian principle within the Syrian Church of those days, showing that not all Christians were blinded by the splendour of the Royal gift, because the elevation of a Christian merchant to the rank of prince in Kerala could hardly take place without a dangerous compromise?

8. 10. The signification of several of these princely or jenmi privileges, (called in III. ஜன்மபூமி) is doubtful. The four classes or streets (4 ஜாதி) I take for classes of foreign merchants, living perhaps in different quarters of the town, such as Concanese, Guzarattis, Chinese (mentioned in the Kerala Ulpatti) and Arabs or Jews. The mention made of the oilmaker, and five artificers (goldsmith, carpenter, founder, ironsmiths coppersmith) together with the Ilawar of the next Document,

recalls some of the confused traditions, touched upon by Wilford, of the introduction of Simhalese castes by the Christians. Several Kerala Ulpattis say, the five Artificers emigrated once after having provoked the Perumal's wrath, and found refuge in Ceylon, from whence they were brought back by the intercession of foreigners, and in their train the cast of Cocoanut tree cultivators [called Ilawar i. e. "Simhalese" from Ilam—Síhalam in Pali; also Tíyar or Dwípar, "Islanders" and Chokar i. e. Sévakar "servants."] One Kerala Ulpatti of the Nasranis says, that their forefathers with the help of these Simhalese peasants built Codungalur, as may be learned from the granite inscription at the Northern entrance of the Tiruvanjiculam temple. Farther investigations on the spot are certainly desirable.

ii, 2. "waterpossession." Every freehold or jenmam is given with the ceremony of pouring water with some flowers strewed upon it, into the hands of him who by drinking it, brings the property designed, into contact with his body. This property may either consist in grounds or in hereditary rights, [here the power of Sovereign commerce and rule over some castes.] From a comparison of the 3 Documents with each other it will appear that the landed property of the Jewish and Christian princes was the least part of their princely power. As the Perumal could not lower himself to deal with strangers, being only accessible to the nobility or the jenmis of the land, the necessary consequence of a thriving intercourse with western shores and of a more or less stationary residence of foreign merchants was this, that this newly forming power within the state should be recognized and brought in harmony with the old institutions by the elevation of a responsible head Merchant to the rank of a Jenmi and hereditary crown dignitary. This was effected by making him Prince over a small territory. The Syrians and Jews may have had great landed possessions on inferior tenures; but not the ex-

tent of the ground,—the deed of a freehold only would make them presentable. The Dignitary thus created was then made protector of his tribe and probably patron of some of the lower heathen castes connected with him by the interests of trade, (oilmakers, cultivators, manufacturers ?) his jurisdiction and political authority thus extending all over the Perumal's territory. Hence the Jewish Emir of whom the Arabian merchants relate. Upon the breaking up of the Perumal's empire, each Lord of a province seized what was within his borders, whereby the power of Manigramam and Anjuwannam could not but be reduced to a minimum. But the Rajas continued the former custom of encouraging commerce by the elevation of one foreign family to princely rank. The Calicut Raja as it were in opposition to his old rival of Cochin, encouraged the Arab settlers as the other did the Christians, and pushed his conquests towards the South chiefly by the aid of his chief Merchant and Admiral the Cóya or Cósa, the head of the Musselman settlers. The case of the Bibi or Ali Rájah of Cannanore (*áli*, i. e. " sea") once a vassal of Collatiri for whom he conquered and from whom he held the Laccadives, seems to be likewise analogous. See both the Cóya and Ali Rajah mentioned in the list of princes, Ker. Ulp. p. 52.

6. " the 4 Tali." This incidental information about the four Talis near Codungalur gives confirmation to an important feature of the old Malayalam government, as described in the Ker. Ulp. p. 11. It is there stated that the Brahmans fearful of the encroachment of the Perumals renewed a former division of their 64 colonies (grámas) into 4 circles, represented by the four chief villages, and these had four Talis or temples for the sittings of their Representatives constructed near to the Perumal's palace. Their names: Méttali, Kíltali, Nedia Tali, and Chingapura tali. Every government measure had first to be discussed and approved by the members of this

Parliament, called Taliyátiris. There is still a temple Sringapuram, near the Cshatria palace of Codungalur. Chingapura is perhaps a *tadbhavam* or corruption of Sringapuram (not of Simhapuram)

8. Iravi Corttan's inheritance goes to his sons. The Mahomedan settlers of a later period had to adopt the custom of the country, that of making their nephews their heirs. Probably this custom would not have prevailed with the Mahomedans, had not the example been first set by their chief family, who could have submitted to it only for commensurate advantages.

9. Panniyur ["boar's village" from the Varáháwatára worship] and Chówaram [Siva-puram] are the two Brahmin colonies which give name to the present faint distinction of Veishnawas and Sheivas. Every Brahmin or other high caste man is known to belong either to the Panniyúr cúru or Chowaran cúru, though few are acquainted with the points that distinguish the one from the other [except it relate to the different modes of dressing victuals.]

10. Vénádu is Travancore. Ónádu [here Ódunádu] the neighbouring province with the capital Cáyanculam.—Eránádu is the original province of the Támútiri or Samorin and his neighbours were the 'Arngóttu dynasty in Walluwa nádu, with theOlympia of old Kerala, the temple of Tirunávái, on an island on the Ponani river. The two latter are always mentioned together. In the Ker. Ulp. the last Perumal gives to the one (Erádi) his sword, to the other (Vallódi i.e. Valluwa-adi) his shield and orders them to live always in peace with each other, a command which the Samorin soon broke by supplanting the Valluwa ruler in the right of superintending the great national feast [Mahamakham] at Tirunávái—That whole part of the Ker. Ulp. in which the present dynasties of Malayalam are represented as dating their origin from the last

Perumal's distribution of the country, is fully disproved by this and the Jewish document, and the relation of the Kerala Mahatmyam, according to which the several families were placed here and there by Parasu Rama, for the purpose of protecting certain temples and Brahmin villages, comes much nearer to the truth, if we understand by Parasu Rama the old time of Brahminical rule.

12. "Chéramán world," occurs here twice for Kérala. Surely there has never been an individual Chéramán Perumál, tho' his name is in every mouth on this coast. Chéramán is the name of the whole dynasty of Chéra or Kérala rulers, for these two names are the same, Kérala being only the Canarese pronunciation, as appears from the Deccan inscriptions of W. Elliot Esq. in which no Chéra is associated with Pándya and Chóla, but only a Kérala.

The most correct representation of the country ruled by the Perumáls is then, that of a feudal state with a powerful hierarchy close to the person of the King and deeply rooted in each province through richly endowed colonies. Then four or more eminent vassals, say two in the South, two in the North, and lastly a number of other princes and hereditary dignities with sounding names and minutely defined privileges, all having crown offices such as those of the writer and of the subject of the document. The influence acquired under such a government by Colonists from the West in spite of their different religions and of the standing threats of the Brahmins that the country is destined to be once more overrun by Sacas, Mlétchas and Bauddhas, can only be ascribed to its incapability of cultivating commerce and relations with other nations, except by encouraging the private exertions of a more spirited community of foreigners.

II. DOCUMENT.

a. I. pl. i. ஸ்வஸ்தி—கொரைளை இரவிகுத்தன்பல நூறுயி
ரத்தாண்டும் மஃகூரலை(1)சுகிறந்தழுபடுததாளாநின்ற
யாணடுள்சுசெலலா நினற (2) யாண்டைநது இவவாண்டு
வெணடுவாழ்கினற அயயனஅகழருவழயு ம் (3) திகார
ரும் பிரகிருதியும (follow signatures apparently engraved
over other letters, without a break in the sentence) மைஞசு
வணணமும் புனஅனதத (4) லெபபதியும முன்வைததுக
குரகெணி கெகாலலதது ஈஸரஸ்ரீஆகை விராயிசெ (5)
யவிததததருஸ்ரீப்பளளிககு செயயனஅகழருவழி குடுத
b. ததவிடு பெறுவது (6) —நாஙகுடி ஈழுவரும மககுடிக
கெறு மிழகைய ணெண்மரும் இவ (ர் wanted as often) க
ள் வநநி (or நீ) (7) ரூபமொரு வணணார் குடியும் மி
வவனைவர்ககுந் தளைகாணமும் மெணிகாணமும (8)
ரனெமெய்பபான் கொளளுமிறையுஞ் சான்றன் மாடடு
மெரிபொன்னும பொலிபபொனனு (9) ம மிரவுசொறு
ங கொளளப்பெறூர் வாரகொலுங (the last 2 letters sup-
plied from pl. iv. v,) கவவ (or ப்ப) ாணும்வைளுசக (10) க
ணடியும் முனனம் பெறறுடையன் நாணுமவீடு (11) பெ
றுக அடடிகளுகுததென்—இநநாஙகுடி ஈழுவருமமொ
c. ருகுடிவணணாரு (12)(ம் wanted) இரணடுகுடி—(perhaps
pl. ii. நீருடி or விருவி) யரும ஒ (or இ)ரு குடிதசசருமளை—
(orவை) யபூமிப்பகு கா (13) ாழர் ளுங்குடி வெளளா
ளரும இவவனைவரு (ம்) தெவர்ககுநடிவன்ந (14) டடு
இடிவன் இடடுபளளிககு எணணைககும மறறுமவெ (15)
ணடுளுசடஙகு (one or 2 கு seem to be wanting) றவுவாரா
தெய் செயயகககடவராக சமைசசு இ (16) நநகரமகணடு
நீறொறற மருவான் ஸவிநிஸ்ரீ செய்விசசு ரரி

d. (17) ஸ்ரா ப்பள்ளிகக்குகக்குடிதத (ஜூமி) யாவது—கொயி
லதிகாரிகள வியராக (or ச) (18) தெவர் உட்பட இருநத
ருளி பபிடிநடததி நீர்த துளளியொடிகூ (19) ட அயயன
டிகள் திருவடியும் இளங்கூறுவாழின்ற ராமி திரு (20) வ
டியும் அதிகாரமுமவேதரியும அறுநூறறுவருமபுனனே
ததலை (21) பபதியுமபூளைக்குடிபபதியும உள்பபடவசசு
இபபூமிக (22) கெலலை-கிழகக்கு வயலகாடே யெலலையாக
வுங்-காயி லுமுட்பட்டதென (23) கிழகக்கு கிறுவாதில்ககா
ல்மதிலெ யெலலையாகவும - படிஞ்ஞாய (24) று கடலெ
யெலலையாகவும - வடகக்குத தொரணததொட்டமெயெ
லலையா (25) கவும - வடகிழகக்குப்புனனேததலை அணடிலெ
pl. iii. ன்தொட்டமெ யெலலையாகவு (26) ம இநநான்கெலலைக
கும அகபபட்ட (ஜூமி) பிடிநடததி உலகும்சநதிரா (27)
திகதியரும ஒளளநாளெலலாஞ் செபபுபததிரஞ்செயது
e. குடுததென—அயயன (28) டிகள்திருவடியும் இராமதிரு
வடியுங் கொயிலதிகாரிகளுரும்பட (evidently mistake of
the writer for ருமுள்பட) மை (29) (or வ) ததருளி இப
பூமியில குடிகளயும எபபிழை சொலலியும பளளியா
ரெ (30) ய் (or ாைய?) பிழையுமழிவும தலைவிலையும மூலெ
f. விலை யும பளளியாரொ கொளளபபெறுவா (31) ர்—நந்த
மர் எபபெர் படடாரும எபபிழைசொலலியும பூமிதத
லையும (32) குடிகளபாடுஞ் சொலலபபெறுர் - அறுநூ
றறுவரும அஞ்சுவண்ணமும் மணி (33) கங்ராமமும இர
g. ஞ்சிகககடவர் —பளளியையும் (ஜூமி) யையும உலகு
(34) ம சநதிராதிதியரும ஒளளநாளெலலாஞ் செபபுப
ததிரததில (35) பபடடவண்ணஞ்செயதுகொளளகடவ
h. ர் அஞ்சுவண்ணமும் மணிகங்ரா (36) மும—இவ(ர்)கள்க

குககொயிலதிகாரிகள வியராக(ச?)தெவருள்பபடட இ
(37) ருநதருளிஅயயன டிகளதிருவடியும இராமதிருவடி
pl, iv.யுமஉட்பட இ (38) ருநதருளி (follow signatures as in pl. i.)
i. இவ (ர்) கள்ககுகுகுடுதத (39) வீடு பெறுவது அறுபதி
ணென்றுலகுங் கள்வ (or ப) ரததிலுல கிலலை யாகவும
அழிவு (40) லகிலலை யாகவும — இவ (ர்) கள் கொள
ளும அடிமைககு ஆள்காசு கொளளப பெறரா (41)
கவும — வாயினம வருமதில வரததிலும் பொகதிலும
எடுகதகாசு கொளளகதகடவ (42) ராகவும—பெடியிலும
படதிலும பொகதிலும வரததிலுநதாலுகாசு கொளள
(43) கதகடவராகவும-உலகு படிஞசரககு இவ(ர்) களை
டவசசு உலகுவிடுபபதாகவு (44) ம-சரககு மிலலயிடுமிட
ததும மறறுமெ ஸ்ரீ மிகாரியம எககாரியமும இவ (45)
(ர்) களைகதகூடடியெசெய்வதாகவும-அனறனறு படிமுல
கு அருசுவண்ணமும (46) மணிக்கிராமமும இலசகிசசு
வைபபதாகவும்-நாலுவாதிலகதது (47) ம்வில(or ல்)ககும
பூமியாகதகாரான்மை கொடுகதகுமெடதது துங்கொப்பதவா
ரது (48) கொயில்கொணடு பதிபபதவாரம் அருசுவண்ண
k. மும் மணிகதகிராமவு (49) ங் கொள்வதாக—இவ (ர்) கள
ககு மங்கலதது துகதகு ஆனைமேல் மண ணுநீர்மூத (50) லாக
எழுபததிரண்டு வீடுபெறும வசசுகதகுடுததார். கொயில
தி (51) காரிகள வியராகதெவர்உள்பபடஇருநதருளி அய
யனடி (52) கள் திருவடியும்ராமதிருவடியும் வதூதியும்
pl. v. அதி (53) காரும் அறுநூற்றுவரும் புன்னைததலைபபதியு
ம் பூளைகதகுடிப்ப (54) தியும் உளபபடவைதது உலகும
சநதிராதித்தியரும் ஒள்ளநாளெலலா (55) ம இவவடடிப
பெறெலலாஞ் செபபுபததிரததில படடவணணஞ் செய
து (56) கொளளபெறுவர். அருசுவணணமும்மணிகதிரா

l. மமுமம—இவ (ர்) கள்ககு (57) அணனியாயம ஒணடா
யில் உலகுதுலாகசூலி தடிததுந்தங்கள் அருஞாயந்தீர்
(58) ததுகொளளகககடவர்—தஙகள் செயயும பிழையுண
டாகிற்றஙகளேகொணடெயாராஞ்ஞு (59) கொளள கக
m. டவராகவும—இநநகரததுககு கா ராளராக நீறொறூர்
அருசுவணணமு (60) ம் மணிககிராமமும இவருளிரண
டுதலையாருங் கூடிச செயவ தெயக (61) ருமமாகவும—
n. இநநகரங்கணடு நீறொறறவருமான் സവിനിധൊ மு
ன்னமபளளி (62) யார் பெறறுடைய வாரக்கொலுவவரு
சகணடிடயுமமறைவான സവിനിധൊ பெ (63) றுத
து நிறைகசூலிபளளிகருகருடிகககடவர்—இதுவும அட
o. டிப (64) பெறுகககுடிதறென—உலகுருஞசநதிராதிதிய
pl. vi. ரும ஒளளநாளெலலாம (65) மெவவகைபபடட இறையு
ந்தரிஸா பபளளியார்ககுவீடி (66) பெறுக செபபுபபத
p. திரஞ்செய்தடடிகருடிதறென—இ (67) வவிழுவர் தமப
(or வ) ணடி குணநதஙகாடியிலும மதிலிலும வியாபரிக
கபபெறுவர்—வண (68) ணுமவநதஙகாடியிலுமமதிலி
q. லும வநது தன்பணி (69) செயதுகொளளபபெறுந்—
தியவாள்வாணும மதிணுயகணும மற (70) றுமமெவவகை
பபடடாருமமெபபிழைசொலலியுமமிவ (ர்) (71) கஞாத
தடுமாறுபபெறுர்—இவ (ர்) கஞாபபிழை செயயிலும
(72) பளளியாலொய் ஆராநது கொளளபபெறுவர்—உல
குஞ்சநதிராதிதிதருமு உளளநாளெலலாம செபபுபபத
திரததிலபடடபரிதுவீடுபெறு அடடிபபெறுக அடடிக
r. குடுதறென—இபபரிது வீடுபெறு அடடிபபெறுக அய
pl. vii. யனடிகடிருவடியால தரிஸாபளளிகரு அடடுவிடுதறுகரு
s. டுதறானமருவானസവിനിധൊ—இதுகாதறில (ச்சி

t. is wanted) ககிலகெகிககும் மவர்ககுததெவனையனுககிரா மஞு செயவாராக—அயனெழுதது—வெளகுலசுநதரனு ககுமொககும—விசைய

The following is the translation as far as it can be made out with short remarks in brackets.

a. Hail !—In the time (literally, year) of Perumál (Có king, or Gó—) Sthánu Ravi Gupta, who now rules gloriously for many 100, 000 years, treading under foot hostile heads, in his 5th year, this year under the concurrence of His Excellence the Ayyan-Adigal, governing the Vénádu (the Travancore King is still called Vénád adigal "the adorable feet of Vénádu") of Anjuwannam (the Jewish principality, of the following grant) and of *Punnattala's Lord (the next neighbour, vide *d.*,) the following grant of a freehold has been given by H. E. the Ayyan Adigal to the Tarisá Church (and Community) established (or built) by Isodáta Virái of Curakkéni Collam.—(The name Tarisá is perhaps to be recognized in the Dariaygal of the Syrian tradition. I. pl. i. Remark. 7.)

b. (This sentence is the most difficult of the whole—first on account of the many antiquated terms of country customs, secondly on account of the construction, ெபறார் *perár* being the negative verb as p. iii. and p. vi, which gives no plausible translation. I prefer to read ெபறார் *pérár* and take it as the Nominative for the Genative :) and I also (one of the above Lords or Maruwán Sapír Ísó or the Church, vide *n.*) who formerly had the possession of the share-staff (வாரமகெகாரவ feudal tenure?) of the four families of Ílawar ("Simhalese, also Tíyar, Dwípar, Islanders" now Palmtree cultivators) and of the eight families of Ílakeyar (Síhala low casts or slaves?) belonging to them, and one family of washermen coming from the

c.

d.

* Punnattala is said to be near Mavalicara

same stock as these, all these being entitled to the fetter-right (கூ the footrope for mounting cocoanut trees ?) and ladder right (for reaping pepper ?); to the tax for the elephant feeder, and to the wash-gold ("*eri*" perhaps—*ari*,) which the Chàndàn ("great person ? sun ?") is wont to get (*máttu* "hook in" T. "get by ruse" M.) as well as to the harvest gold ("*polipon*" gold of interest ? shining gold ?) to the nightly meal of rice and to the pot-measure, I, possessed of this sharestaff and of the Cavván (or *cappam* ? "tribute") and of those 5 Kandis (pieces of ground or shares ?),—have given them by a free and unrestricted transfer.

c. Maruwán Sapír I'só (Maruwán the syrian מרן Lord ?) who has received the water (hereditary possession) of this town, having arranged that these four families of 'Ilawar (with their servants and washerman), two families of—, one family of carpenters, and four families of Velláler (Tamil agriculturists) the latter being Cárálar (T. ploughmen, M. temple servants used pl. v. for Trustees, hence pl. iv. the noun *cáránmei* "Trusteeship") of the Alavé (or *Aladeiya*) land, that all these may do their duty to the God, the planter by planting (rice etc), the setter by setting (trees, or by building, offering ?) so that the required ceremonies such as the oil for the Church suffer no diminution, has enacted and given to the Tarisá Church the land now to be described.

d. Decreed with the sanction of the Palacemajor* Vyaráka Dévar (probably commissioner of the Perumal, since he is repeatedly mentioned before the Travancore vassal) and power given with (the ceremony of) waterdrops for seizing and possessing, under the concurrence of H. E. the Ayyan adigal, H. E. the second Raja—Râma (brother of the former and next heir,) his officers and ministers, and of the 600 (a local authority vide *f*,) also of the (neighbouring) lords of Punnattala ("place of Calophyllum trees") and Púlacudi

* In the original ஒகரயிலதிகாரிகள் Eds.

(" dwelling of silk cotton trees")—the Land bounded so that the E. border be Vayalcádu (open waste plain,)—and the backwater included; the S. E. border be the wall near the little ~~door~~ gate? (*Chiru wátil cál matil*); the W. border the sea; the N. border the Tórana garden; the N. E. border the garden of the unapproachable (*andilan*) of Punnattala; the land enclosed within these four borders I have empowered to take and by executing this copper deed have given, for the days that earth, moon and sun exist.

e. And it has farther been settled with the concurrence of H. E. the Ayyan Adigal, H. E. Rama, and the Palace Major —that the Church people (Palliyár—probably heads of the Tarisá citizens) alone have power to punish the (heathen) families of this land for any offence whatsoever and receive the fines expences, headprice and breastprice (probably the right of selling males and females for serious caste offences;)—mine
f. own relations whoever they be, whatever the charges be, shall never have the right there to speak as heads of the land dealing with subjects—Let the 600 (see *d*) the Anjuwannam and Manigramam (Jewish and Christian principalities)
g. be the protectors. Let them, even Anjuwannam and Manigramam act both with the Church and the Land according to the manner detailed in this copper deed for the times
h. that earth, moon and sun exist. Ordered with the sanction of the Palace major Vyaráka Dévar, and with the sanction of H. E. the Ayyan Adigal, and H. E. Rama and free tenure granted to these (Palliyar) as follows:

i. (Again a difficult sentence—I take *ulaku* i. e. lóka for the official name of the citizens, Christian freemen, formed into a corporation, and dístinguished both from the Palliyar, who are their headmen and from the Cudi or Heathen families, who live on their grounds as farmers or slaves)—There being 61 citizens, the number not to be increased nor to be dimi-

nished; no personal tax to be received for the slaves they buy (or, " the person-tax to be received" if you read pérár); —for admitting any conveyances or letting them out they are to receive 8 coins (káchu—*wáyinam* is váhanam, understand horses, waggons); in the case of (female) elephants and of boats whether for letting in or letting out they are to receive 4 coins; merchandize belonging to the citizens to be disposed of (or removed) by them with the cognizance of the above (the Palliyár? or the protecting Lords?); and that they (the Palliyar) do all the business (rights and duties) of a Lord (Swámi), on the place of packing the wares (or on spots where poles with leaves are set up as signs of prohibition) and elsewhere, only after deliberation with the above mentioned (Anjuwannam and Manigramam?); that Anjuwannam and Manigramam protect the citizens in every coming generation; that in the space within the four gates (or in the four public offices?) and on the spot where land for sale (or " under prohibition") is given in trust, the Palace (or Supreme Government) having received the King's tithe (Kó-pata-wáram), Anjuwannam and Manigrámam receive the Lord's tithe (Pati-ppata-wáram) with the sanction of the Palace

k. Major Vyaraka Devar, who has given to these (the Palliyár) the 72 jenmi rights (*viduperu*) such as for marriages (or processions) the elephant's back, the earth, the water etc (or " earth and water on the elephant,"—at all events marks of nobility), and with the concurrence of H. E. the Ayyan Adigal, H. E. Rama, the ministers and officers, the 600 and the Lords of Punnatala and Púlacudi, let Anjuwannam and Manigramam carry out this unrestricted possession-right in the manner described by this copper deed for the time that earth, moon and sun exist.

l. If any injustice be done to these (the Palliyar? or Anjuwannam and Manigramam?) they may withhold the tribute (" world-bearing-hire") and remedy themselves the injury

done to them. Should they themselves commit a crime, they are themselves to have the investigation of it. And
m. let whatever the two chieftains in Anjuwannam and Manigramam who have taken the water (possession) as trustees for this town (*Cáráler*, see *c.*,) may do in unison be counted
n. for one act – And let Maruwán Sapír Ísó who took the water for this town, since he acquired (or transferred ? *peruttu*) the sharestaff (*Várakól* of *b.*) and those 5 pieces (or *Anjacandi*) which formerly were the property of the Palliyar pay for it the full price to the Church. This also I have
o. given over by unrestricted transfer—I have ceded to the Tarisá Church people by full and unrestricted tenure every kind of revenue by this copper deed for the time that earth moon and sun do last.

p. Those Ilawar are permitted to follow out their occupations (?) in the bazar and on the wall. The washerman may come and do his work in the bazar and
q on the wall. Nor have the Island ruler (or Tíyar-head man) and the Wall-officer or whoever it be, any power to stop them on any charges whatsoever. Though they should commit a trespass the Palliyár alone have to try them.

r I have given this in the manner detailed in the copper-deed for the time that earth, moon, and sun do last by full free and unrestricted tenure.

s The person who made this full, free and unrestricted transfer to the Tarisápalli through H. E. the Ayyan Adigal, is Maruwán Sapír I'só.

t. To those who keep this and care to see it observed let God himself be gracious (what is *anugramam* or *anucrámam ?*) The writing of Ayyan—and ~~may this benefit (*vel*—or is it a compound word?)be equal to Cula Sundara's (Vishnu ?). Rule victoriously !~~

Agreed to by Vel Cula Sundaran
Agreed to by Vijaya Narayanan
follow yet 12 ~~Inscriptor~~ Signatures
more on a farther plate, which is lost
(as appears from Anquetil du Perron I.)

N. B. This document is the connecting link between the Ist and the IIIrd. it proves the Jewish and Christian Lords to have been friends and the first Dynasty to have been prior to the other. Although the two remaining pages cannot now be deciphered, it remains for us to add what can be made out of the Hebrew signatures.

הכתובו המוש פריש תרהום

התובכו צהק מכיעל פריש תהום

הכתובו אברהם קנוכי תהום

הכתובו יבריאה יי תהום

Much herein is altogether inexplicable, and after we once know that these are signatures of a Hamush, or Hamish (Arab. "courageous,") and an Ishaq Mikaël, Delegates (or Phariseans?), of an Abraham, who has another office or surname, and of a fourth party, probably all witnesses on Anjuwannam's side, we may leave them for the present. I may add that the late Mr. Buchanan was certainly mistaken in his opinion of these Hebrew characters.* They are very similar to the present Hebrew alphabet and "Abraham" especially can be read on the first view.

III. DOCUMENT.

III. The Jewish document, although the oldest is the best written, the language with one exception ഉണ്ണി old Tamil, apparently of a time when the Tamil and Malayalam were still one undivided language, with a few dialectical peculiarities in each province. Though repeatedly copied and referred to since the time of Anquetil du Perron, no translation of it has as yet fully succeeded, because the chief points such as the meaning of Anjuwannam, of *vidu-pêru* etc. could only be satisfactorily settled by the comparison of the Syrian tables. Also in many minor points the comparison of the 3 documents was found to throw sufficient light upon

* Christian Researches p. 140.

what would else remain illegible or doubtful in meaning. The old Hebrew translation is of a time when loose tradition only, guided the interpreter in fixing the meaning of many terms, and when the memory even, of Anjuwannam was already extinguished. No Jew of Cochin seems ever to have heard that name.

pl. i. ஶ்ரீ-கொகொணமகொணடான்கொ-ஸ்ரீபாற்க

a. ரன இரவிவணமர் பலநூறுயிரததாணடுமசெஙகொல்நட

ததியாளா நினற யாணடு இரணடாமாணடைகெதிர்மு

பபதாறுமாணடு-முயிறிகொடடு இருநதருளிய நாள்

b. பிரஸாதிசசருளியபிரஸாதமாவது-ஈஸ்பபு இறவவாணு

கு அருசு வணணமும பெடியாலும வாயனதாலும

பாகுடமும அருசுவணண்ப பெறும பகல விளகும

pl. ii. பாவாடைபும அநதொளகமுமகுடையும—வடிகபபறை

யுமகாகாளமும இடிபடியும தொரணமும தொரணவி

தானமும சரவும மிகும எழுபதிரணடுவீடு பெறும

c. கூடகொடுததொம—உலகுந் துலாககூலியும விடடொ

ம-மறறும நகரதிலகுடிகள கொயில்ககு இறுககுமறு

இவன இறுமையும பெறுமறுபெறவும ஆகச்செபபெட

d. டொடுமசெயதுகொடுததொம—அருசுவணணமுடைய

ஈஸ்பபு இறவவாணுககும இவன ஸ்நததிஆண்மகள்க

குமபெணமகளகும இவன்மருமகள்ககும் பெண்ம

கஸாகொணட மருமகளகும ஸ்நததிபபிரகிரிதி—உல

குருசநதிராணும உள்ளளவும அருசுவணணமஸ்நததிபபிர

கிரிதி—ஸ்ரீ

pl. iii. இபபரி அறிவென வெறறுடைய கொ

e. வர்ததன மாதிதாணடன

இபபரி அறிவென வெணணவலிநாடுடைய

கொதைசிரிசணடன

f. இபபரி அறிவென எறுளதாடிடைய மா
னவெபலமானவீயன
இபபரி அறிவென வளருவதாடிடை
ய இராயாருசாததன

g. இபபரி அறிவென நெடுமபுறையூர்நாடு
டைய கொதை யிரவி
இபபரி அறிவென கீழபபடைநாயகம
செயயினறமூர்ககனசாததன

h. வன்றலைசெரிகசணடன
குனறபபொழுயகீழவாய்
கெளபபானெழுதது } perhaps one person.

Hail! Sri—The King who has taken the Supreme Rule, King (Perumal) Srí Bháskara Ravi Varman, wielding the sceptre and ruling for many 100,000 years, in his time, in the 36th year against the second cycle (literally, year), on the day when he was pleased to sit in Muyiri-códu, he was pleased to grant this favour.

N. B. The Jewish translation particularly incorrect in the rendering of this sentence, deserves perhaps to be listened to in its translation of Muyiri-codu יושבבכנאנור "residing in Cranganur or Codungalur." Perhaps the Musiris of the ancients is to be sought so far South. The calculation of the 36th year against the 2d cycle, which Mr. Whish has attempted, guided by the authority of other documents of considerable age, I am not prepared to criticize, as I am doubtful of the signification of "*etir*" against (before?)

We have given to Joseph Rabban (the principality) Anjuwannam, along with the 72 Jenmi rights such as (going) with elephants and (other) conveyances, tribute from subordinate landholders, and the possession (or revenue) of Anjuwannam, the light by day, the spreading cloth, the litter, the

umbrella, the Vaduca drum (of I. i. 9, Jews transl., "drum beaten with 2 sticks") the trumpet, the gateway with seats, ornamental arches and similar awnings and garlands (*chagary rawu* i. e. T. சரவை) and the rest.

N. B. Here the name of Anjuwannam, has been mistaken by the Jewish and other translators. The Jews translate it in the first place with חמשהמינצבע and further below חמשהצבעים "five colours," and the revenue of Anjuwannam is converted by them into a a right to convert from the 5 castes" ולאירמוחמשה עמות But the language of the Document forbids to take "*anju*" for the numeral 5, it would have been "*aintu*," as in the later Document II. *a*.— The present translation of *vidu-peru*, generally mistaken for a gift of houses, or even for a gift to 72 families (לוולשבאימושנימבתים is) fully secured by Doc. II. in several places: *vidu* (cf II. *k*.,) is the verbal noun of *vidu*, "to leave," signifies "remittance, freedom," hence in ancient T. synonymous with S. *mocsha*, the derived meaning is "freehold, *janmam*," hence the modern signification, "gardens house." Some of the privileges are not quite determined; *pácudam* (T. tribute) is in the Jewish translation, the right of calling from the corners of the street that low castes may retire (זקריאותלמגותחזדף)— after "umbrella," the Jews have inserted וראבל a word of which they do not know the meaning.

e. We have remitted to him the tribute to the Supreme Government (lit. the world-bearing-hire of II. l.

N. B. The Jews translate literally but ungrammatically זב ן-שביתהאגעובאן זבים שבירוסצת "and the revenue of the land and balances their hires he remitted.")

And we have enacted with this copper deed that when the other Town inhabitants pay taxes to the (Perumals) Palace he shall not have to pay, when they receive, he shall also receive.

N. B. Nothing of the Jewish version can here be of any use they are quite misled by the word *Cóyil*, which they take for Synagogues, and hence conclude the sense to be this "and he shall be

chief to the rest of the Cities in which there are Synagogues and Jewish inhabitants" without any attention to the structure of the sentence. But the sentence is difficult on account of the (antiquated) double *aru*, which I take for "time, term," of Beschi's அறவரி "tax paid at fixed times," and the derivative *áru*, used in Malayalam and Canarese for "when." From a comparison of this and the first Document it appears, that the residence of the Jewish and Christian chieftains was not in the little principality given to them, but that they remained in the Metropolis, as the seat of commerce. The Jewish translation may give confirmation to the tradition that there were Jews and Synagogues in many cities, and that naturally enough their naturalized Emir had jurisdiction over the whole nation, which he represented in the system of Government then established.

d. (Given) to Joseph Rabban the owner of Anjuwannam, and to his posterity, sons and daughters, nephews and sons-in-law חתונבלה a hereditary appendage—for the time that earth and moon exist—Anjuwannam a hereditary appendage—Sri.

N. B. *Pracriti* "what is natural, essential to." I take it for synonymous with jenmam, which also first signifies "birth" then in Malayalam "hereditary property." Different is the use of *pracriti* in II. *a.* The Jews translate it here with. קיים "standing" בלזמנשזרצוקייסאלוהגזגרימקיימים

Thus do I know Góvardhana Márttándan, owner of Vénádu (or Travancore, ציגרבובירכין מסארין) Thus do I know Kotei Sri Candan, owner of the Vénaváli province ובזבל (בגרזחגאזזכותדשיל perhaps Bembali, wherein now Cottayam, —may it not be the older name of Odunádu I. pl. ii. 10.)

N. B. These are the two Southern vassals.

f. Thus do I know, Mána Vépala Mána Víyan, owner of Erála province (חירלנאדךמנאבגרין) the name of the Tamutiri, changed by the Jewish version according to the current tradition into Mana Vicrama, vulgo Mana Vikkiran); thus do I

know, Ràyaran Cháttan, owner of Valluwa province)כלודנאר רבריקשטין

N. B. These are the two northern vassals, as I. Pl. ii. 11.

g. Thus do I know, Cotei Ravi, owner of Nedumpureiyúr district (Jewish version corrupted by the writers, but the tradition that this is the Palacádu Rája seems correct. Nedumpureiyúr is an old temple on the Palgatcheri road, from which Mr. Whish obtained some inscriptions.)

Thus do I know, Múrkhan Cháttan, commanding the Eastern army. (The Jews take Kil-padei for a proper name). It seems these two are the great Eastern vassals on the road which leads through the Coimbatoor gap to the old fields of battle between the Pándi, Chóla and Chéra princes. I conclude from Document I. that in a later period the Chera country properly speaking had been taken from the Cheramáns.*

h. Candan of Great Taleicheri (ותלחשיריכנדו) Kil-way ("under-mouth" Eastern commander or Viceroy, i. e. dhalawa "army-mouth" or general) the mountainsplitter—The writing of Kelappa.

N. B.--It is open to question whether these persons are two or three. The Jewish version has only the first and the last וחספר כילפיין leaving out the middle altogether. If Kilway be the name of a place, we must render "the writing of Kilway Kelappan the mountainsplitter" and the latter appellation may be taken for a title given to the writer hecause he deals in metals, [compare the Grand-goldsmith of the I. Document]. But as Buchanan says the Jews find in the names of the subscribing Rajas the Colattiri and the Curumbenadu rulers, we may find it possible to recognize in the Candan of Taleicheri a family member or vassal of Colattiri, who with this sea-town recognized the rule of the Perumal, and in the

* According to Ellis it was divided among the great vassals as early as A. D. 389 and finally though at what period is uncertain was reduced to a province of the Pandyan Government Trans. Mad. Lit. Soc. p. 19. W. E.

mountainsplitter the chieftain of the Curumbar or jungle-dwellers, so called either from his mines at Tamracheri or from a pass he opened through the Ghauts. It does not seem that in the time of these three Documents the northern Malabar or Colattiri did belong to the Perumals: for if it did, its Rajas would certainly have obtained as high and conspicuous a place in the line of witnesses as their relations of Venadu, to whom in old times they appear certainly superior. They recognized perhaps a Tulu or Maisur dynasty as supreme Lords.

The Jewish version adds פרים דפשהואמלךקונוי לאנאכרבזה בגבזר שהויחאותויורשובמקום.

"Perimpadappu who is now the Raja of Cochin is here not mentioned because (the Perumal) made him his heir and successor." There is certainly some truth in this remark, from what is said I, Pl. i. 1. about the name Vira Kérala, now the standing appellation which the Perimpadappu assumes on his accession to the throne.

Conclusion. This III. document leads us into a time plainly distinct from that of the Syrian grants. The Perumals sway extended over a greater stretch of country, there is no recognition of the Brahminical hierarchy, the manner of marking the year is likewise peculiar and referring perhaps to an era of important political and religious changes. The Kerala Mahatmyam and the Kerala Ulpatti speak of one Buddhist King, whose reign they strive to shorten without accounting for the great change they confess to have been wrought under him. And certainly this first introduction and naturalization of foreigners is less likely to have been the work of a Brahminical government than of any other under the sun. The Bramins, when their authority was re established, may have continued and imitated what had been done by their predecessors chiefly if they found the Syrians conniving with idolatry, as their own tradition makes them, but they could hardly have been the first to suggest such a plan. To indulge in conjecture about the meaning of "Bauddhas," [Budd-

hists ? Jains ? sects from the West, at present generally applied to the Muhammedans] would here be out of place. But I think enough has been said to support the suggestion that the Government which could afford such a first grant to foreigners, remitting even the vassal's tribute, [which was never done with the Syrians*]—was less suspicious, more powerful and enterprizing than any native rule which has succeeded it on this coast.

Notes on the preceding Papers.

The documents for the preceeding able exposition of which the Society is indebted to Mr. Gundert have long been a source of interest, from the expectation that they would throw light on the early advent to India of the two remarkable races to which they relate. Though this hope has not been fully realized, the field of inquiry now opened will probably lead to farther discoveries. It would be worth while to search for inscriptions on stone on the sites of all the earlier christian villages and places of worship. The sasanams at the Tiruvanjiculam temple noticed by Mr. Gundert should also be transcribed. The Sub-Committee would gladly undertake the examination of any of these that may be forwarded to them.

Impressions of the Syrian deeds I. and II. having come into the possession of a member of the Sub-Committee, it has been resolved to give fac similes of the second which will accordingly be found in plates 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. of this vol. The first being in characters differing little from the modern has not yet been considered worth the same trouble, besides being unfitted by its greater size. It is $14\frac{3}{4}$ inches long by 4 broad, the part occupied by the writing being nearly 13 inches.† On the margin of one side is the figure of a Shankh

* The wording here leads to the conclusion that Anjuwannam was in a later period obliged to pay the tribute, excepting only in cases when the vassal had to defend himself against unconstitutional acts of Government.

† Buchanan Chris. Res. p. 140.

or sacred whelk-shell. The last plate of II. in the two undeciphered characters is plate 8. The first which Buchanan called the nail headed has been rightly conjectured by Mr. Gundert to be Cufic. In the earliest Cufic inscriptions the letters are frequently ornamented with flourishes or run into each by the device called toghra, of which specimens may be seen in the tombstone from Malta engraved in the first volume of the Mines de L'Orient and in the Ceylon inscription deciphered by Professor Lee in the first volume of the Trans. Royal Asiatic Society p. 545. In the present instance, the extremity of every letter is made to end in a triangle both above and below. It is read as follows and consists of names of certain Arab witnesses.

. . . يد لک ميمو ن بن ا بر
هيم و شهد ماحمد بن منديع
و شهد طي بن علي و شهد
عثمان بن الخزر ما ت و شهد
ماحمد بن يلكل و شهد عمر و بن
ا بر هيم وشهد ابر هيم ين
* * * * * و شهد بكر بن منصور
و شهد ا لقا سم بن حميد
و شهد منصو ر بن عيسى و
شهد ا سمعيل بن يعقو ب

The first word which is wanting may be هذا the reading would then be Meimun Son of Ibrahim arranged this for you? and Muhammad Son of Mania witnessed it and Tai Son of Ali, ditto. and Osman Son of Ali Hazramat? do. and Mohammad Son of Yahia do. and Omru Son of Ibrahim do. and Ibrahim Son of * * * * * do. and Bakr Son of Mansur do. and Alkasim Son of Hamid do. and Mansur Son of Eesa do. and Ismael Son of Yakub, do. The name omitted is doubtful.

The next character is probably another list of witnesses—for the same words recur repeatedly. Thus the first word is

repeated ten times. It is probably an expression equivalent to the شهد of the Cufic document and should serve as a clue to make out the whole. The last word is found six times. A word in the middle of the second line is the first of the fourth and a word in the fifth line occurs three times.

One of the most important points in the Jewish or III. document is the determination of the date regarding which the following conjecture is hazarded, being the conclusion arrived at in an attempt to translate the grant itself three or four years ago.

The words are, "irandám-andeikk'-etir-muppatt'-aram-andu" which appeared to mean "the 36th year" [of the Cycle] "correspon ding with the second year" [of the reign] or it may be the 36th year of the Cycle opposed to or in contradistinction to the 2d which would be the 3rd Cycle, i. e. of Parasurama, the era prevalent in Malabar. Mr. Whish rendered it the 3[illegible]th year of the 2nd Cycle. But besides that the construction does not bear this meaning, it is not customary to note the particular Cycle, which indeed would hardly seem necessary in periods of 1000 years each. I conclude therefore that the first is the true rendering, the 3rd Cycle or that which last closed being the one referred to, and as it commenced A. D. 825, the year of the grant, the 36th, would be A. D. 861. To take the 2nd Cycle would evidently go too far back. This would give 139 B. C. Inscriptions of that period are in a form of character much more ancient from which all those now in use are proved to have been derived. And to this degree of antiquity the writing in the Jewish tablet possesses no claim.

W

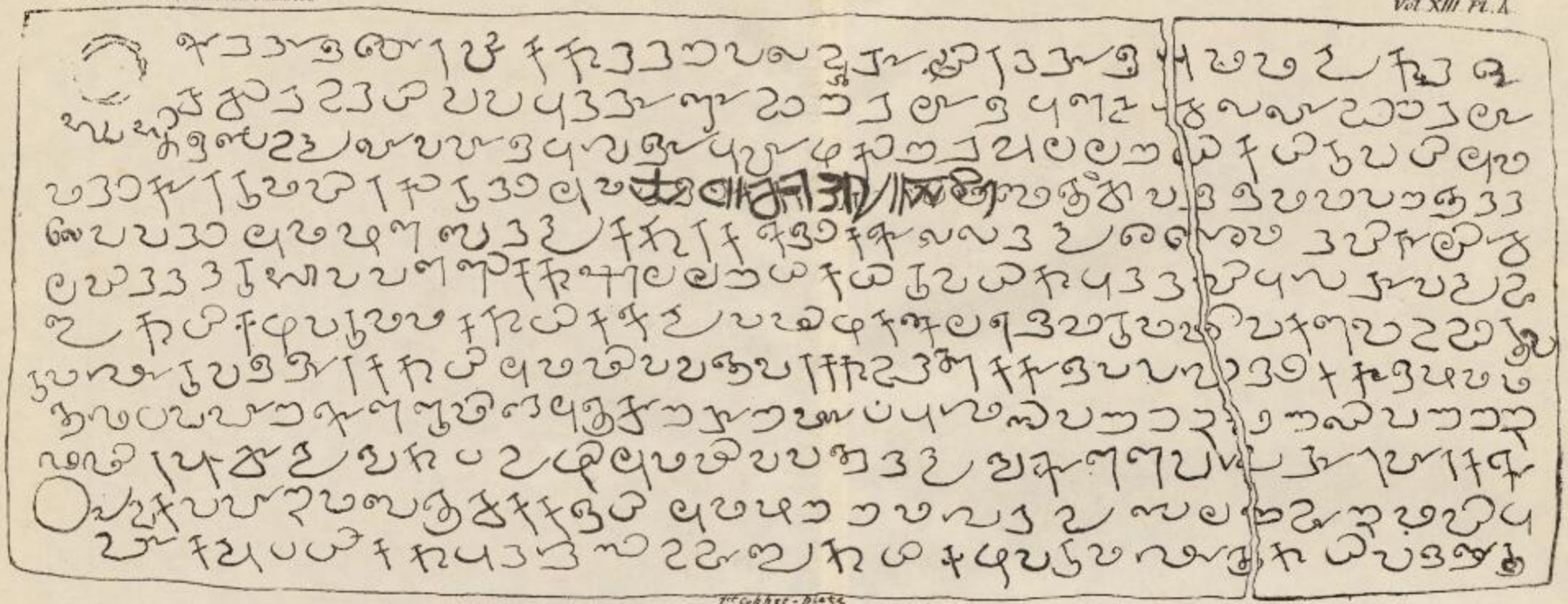
[After the No. had gone to Press, the Sub-Committee were favored by the Rev. Mr. Taylor with some further observations contained in a letter from Mr. Gundert to him. Mr. Gundert observes with reference to the al-

teration of a word which occurs three times in the course of II. document (vide Plate 4. 4th line of 1st Copper Plate, Plate 5. last line of 2d Copper, Plate 6. also last line) "that there were at first some words in the common Alphabet of the document, but they have become next to illegible by the marked characters engraved over them, nor do I think it of importance to settle what the names erased may have been, but as the interpolations recur three times, there is no difficulty in separating them from the letters written at first. I have no doubt they meant Manikkirámam with the last ம repeated,—as often before initial vowels." As regards the term Chakravarti in I. Mr. Gundert adds, that he purposely left it untranslated as the question might arise whether the Perumals had an exclusive right to this title. At present all Kerala Rajas lay claim to both. With reference to the suggested explanation of Anjuwannam as meaning five castes or five colors, which the Jews also have tried. Mr. Gundert observes, that from the uniform language of the documents, he concludes it must be meant for a name as surely as Manigramam is one; and this conclusion is strengthened by the fact that even the very exact first document does not rectify the vulgar pronunciation அஞ்சு into ஐந்து lest the name should become liable to misinterpretation. Mr. Gundert has likewise forwarded a reading of the Cufic signatures which he has made out by means of some inscriptions published in the Bombay Asiatic Society's Journal, which differs little from the version given above. The first word he supplies by شهد "tho' the place" he adds "will scarcely suffice"—the nex t word he omits. In the third line for Tai he reads Sali—the fourth line he also leaves and the 5th he reads أسد بن تحفي Asad bin Tohfi. The 1st and 2d names in the 7th line are also undeciphered. He then adds "as this is the first list of the witnesses subscribing (the others being one in unknown characters but clearly Semitic, written from right to left, and one in Hebrew) and at the same time the longest and most carefully engraved, it would seem that these witnesses must represent one of the parties treated of in the document. If they represent Anjuwannam why have we afterwards four Hebrew signatures? If Manigramam, it would seem that it had at that time passed into Arabian (Jewish, Christian, or Mussulman) hands. Or are these the 600 (II. *d. f.*) authorized to protect the new Church in conjunction with Anjuwannam and Manigramam?" Mr. G. likewise notices the frequent recurrence of the first word in the unknown character —and concludes by adding the following additional remarks by the Rev. Mr. Peet at Mavelecara on the greater Syrian grant:

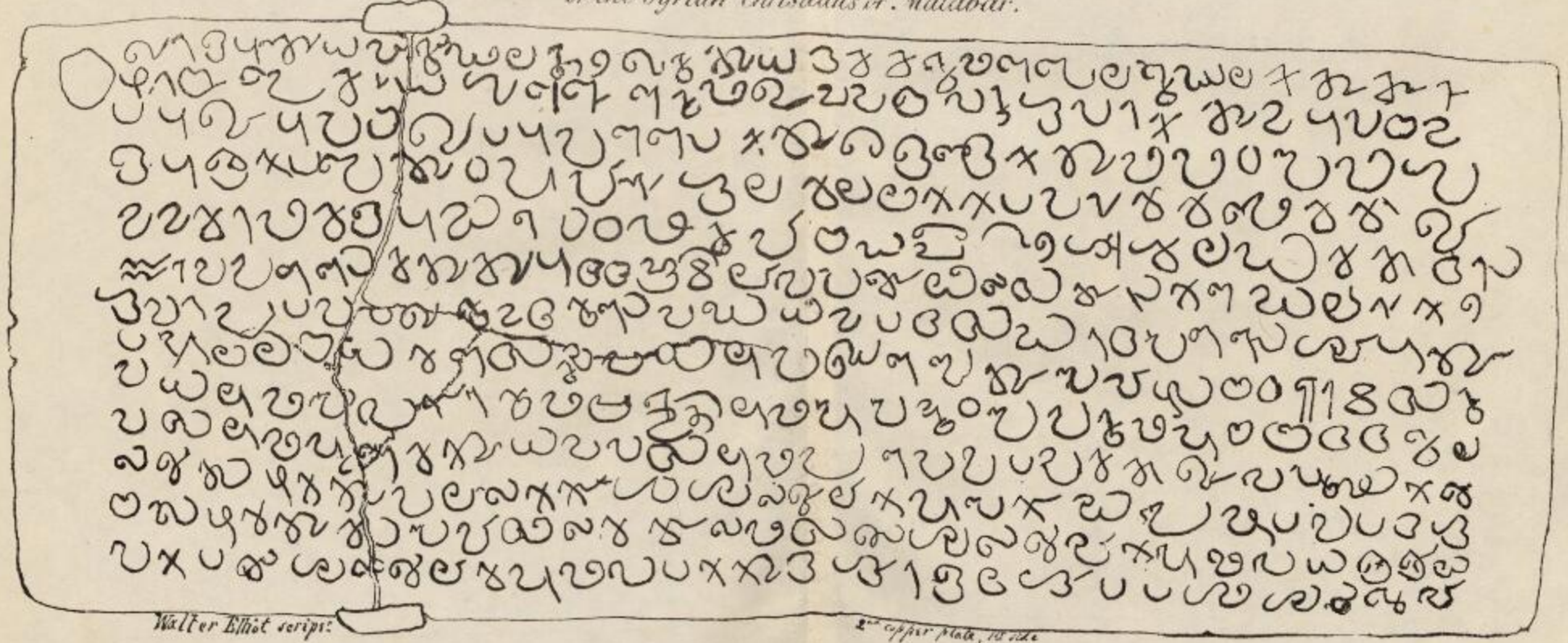
1. "Manigrámam," he asserts, "is the name of a class of Christians, relapsed into heathenism through the influence of a sorcerer (Manica Vachakar?). Some of that class are still to be found near Quilon. Each individual is called (in Native books?) a ൗമ, a jewel, on account of their apostacy—and the whole of them constitutes now a subdivision of the Sudras." I had indeed been startled by the Indian-looking name "Iravi Corttan," which does not at all look like the appellation of a Syrian Christian: still I thought myself justified in calling Manigramam a Christian principality—whatever their Christianity may have consisted in —on the ground that from Menezes' time, these grants had been regarded as given to the Syrian Colonists. I now venture the conjecture, that they were disciples of Mani, a colony of Manicheans, such as the Arabian travellers found in Ceylon.

2. "The ധ്വനി കർ, whom Native books oppose to the party just mentioned as a class of stedfast confessors, exist still in the South of Travancore, have their ceremonies conducted by Syrian Priests, and differ from Nazranis merely only by their preserving the hair tuft." I see no reason, to give up my former conjecture of the identity of ധ്വനി, and the തനിസാ of the inscription; (fr. such dialectical changes as വായില വാതില (Mal.) വാശല, but venture yet somewhat farther to attempt an indication what the Tarisa Church originally was. I find in John de Monte Corvino's travels, that the Nestorians in China and Tatary were called "Tarsa;" the word is there spoken of as of Mongolic etymology. Might it not be derived from Tarsus, since the heads of the Nestorians (such as Diodor of Tarsus) were from Cilicia, and the whole sect may have affected to derive their origin from Paul's birth place. This hypothesis will be easily refuted or confirmed by those who have access to original works on the subject.

3. "Curakkéni Collam." Tradition states that the Syrians came to this country in two bodies, one party landed near the modern Quilon at a place now engulphed by the sea, the other at Codungalur or Mahodeverpatnam. The practice in documents observed till within the last 80 years was invariably to mark to which of these 2 bodies a Syrian belonged; for instance ഇവനെക്കൊണ്ടു കൊല്ലത്തുമൂത്തപട്ടണത്തിൽ സഭയിൽകൂടിയിരിക്കുന്ന ശ്രീ മൂട്ടിൽമാപ്പാൻ and മറ്റു കാണിക്കവർ പട്ടണത്തുമൂത്തപട്ടണത്തുടിയിൽ കൂടിയിരിക്കുന്ന പുത്തൻവീട്ടിൽകുഞ്ഞൻ]

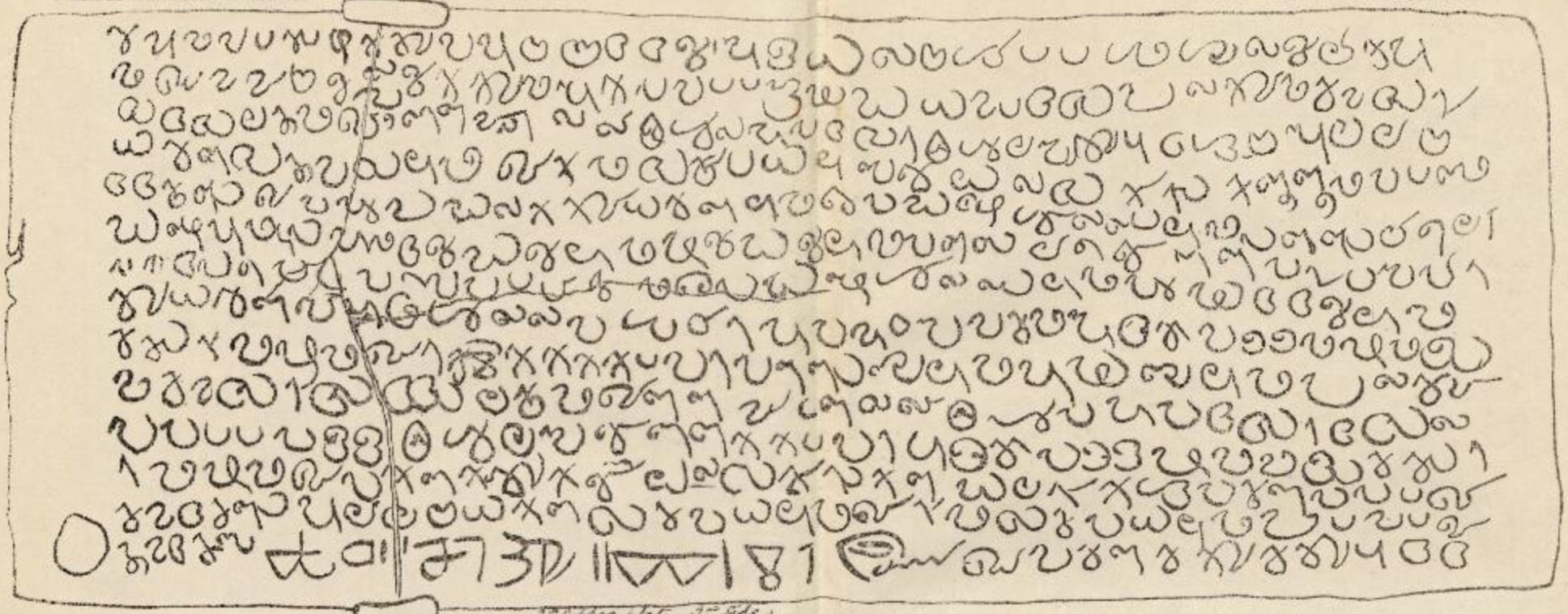


Fac-simile of a Copper Sasanam in the possession of the Syrian Christians of Malabar.



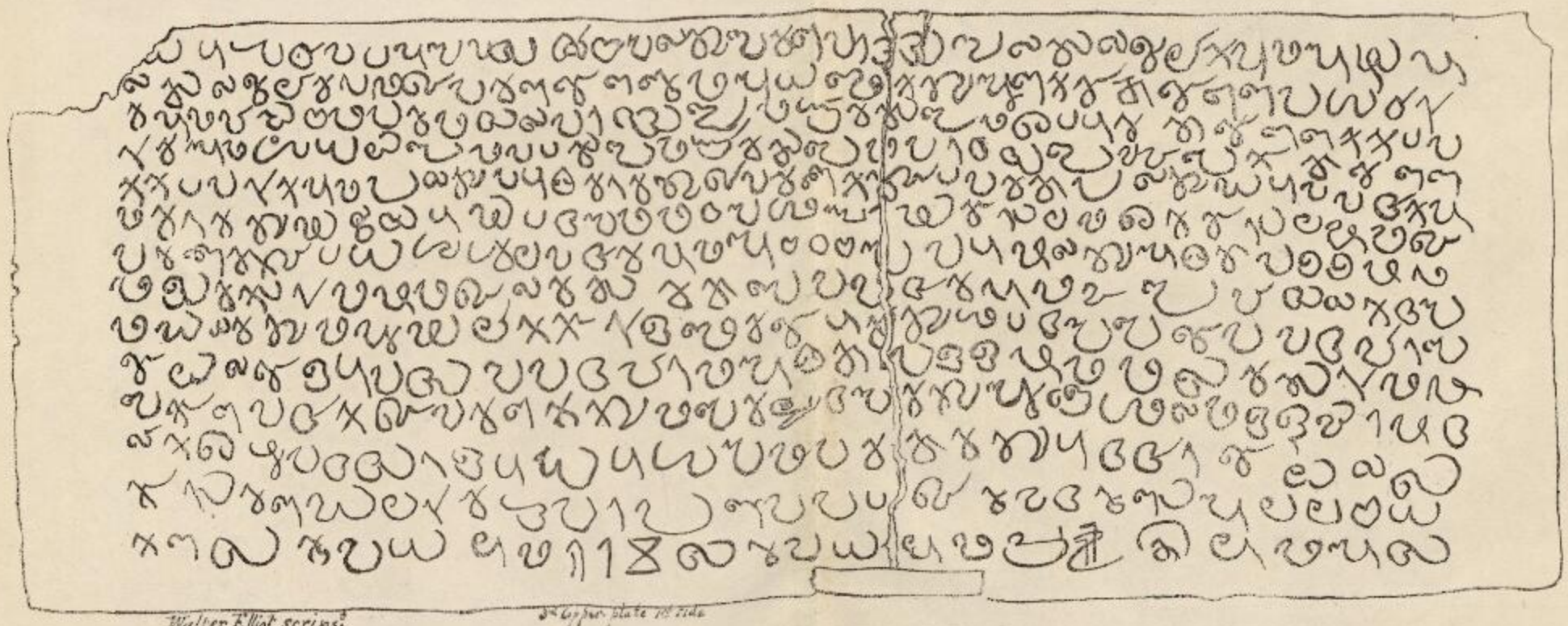
Walter Elliot scrips:

2nd copper Plate, 10 side



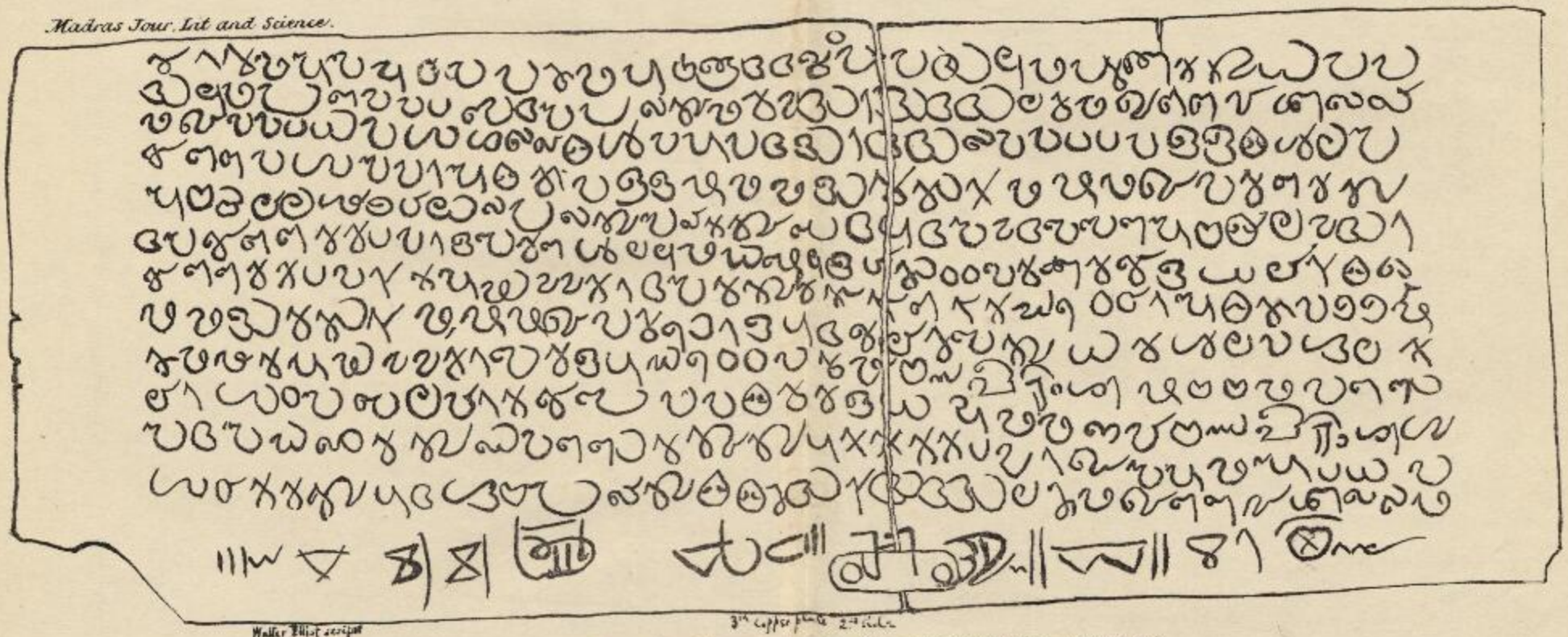
1st Copper-plate 2nd side

Fac-simile of a Copper Sasanam in the possession of the Syrian Christians of Malabar.



Walter Elliot scrips.t

2d Copper plate 1st side



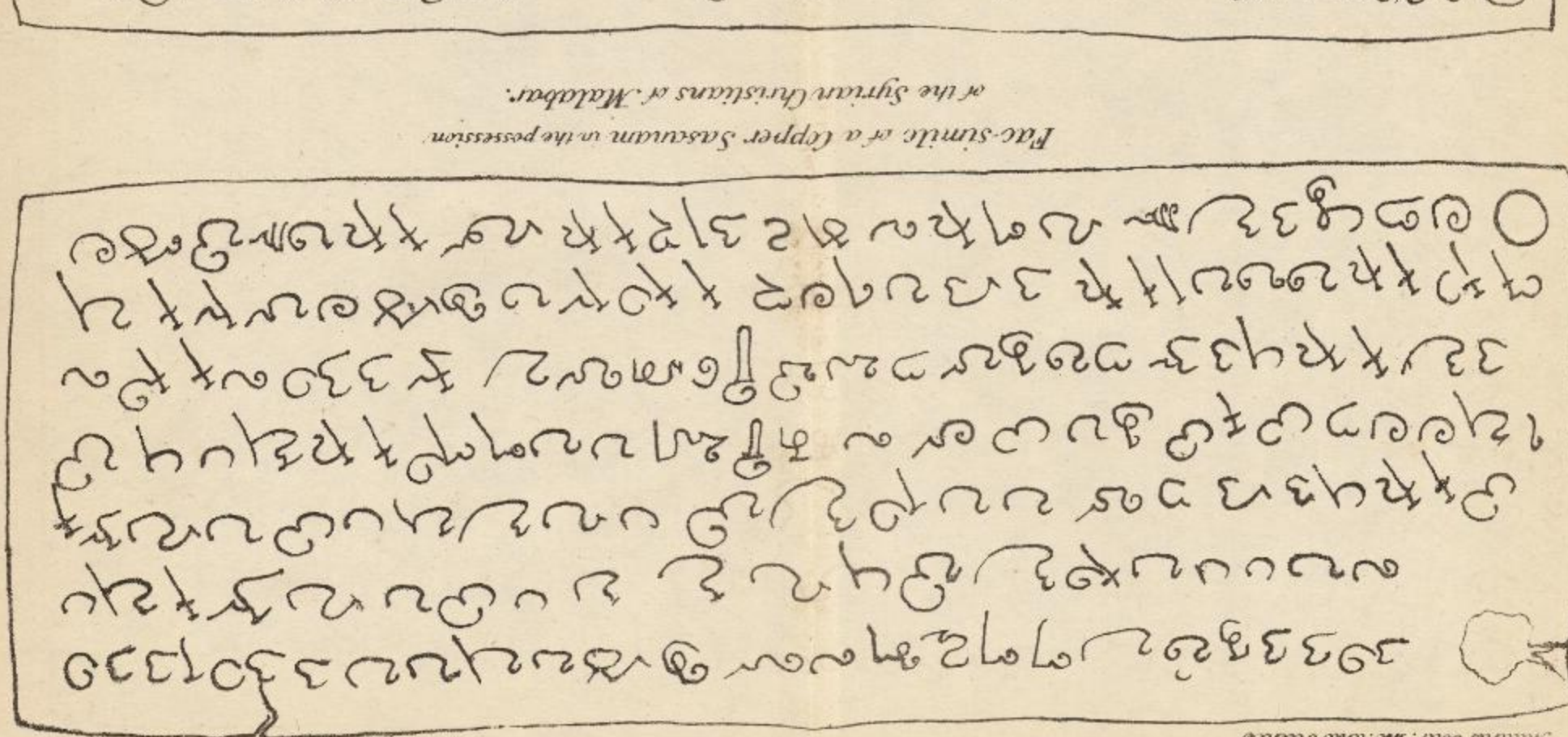
Walter Elliot sculpt

Fac-simile of a Copper Sasanam in the possession of the Syrian Christians of Malabar.

Vol. XIII. Pl. 7.

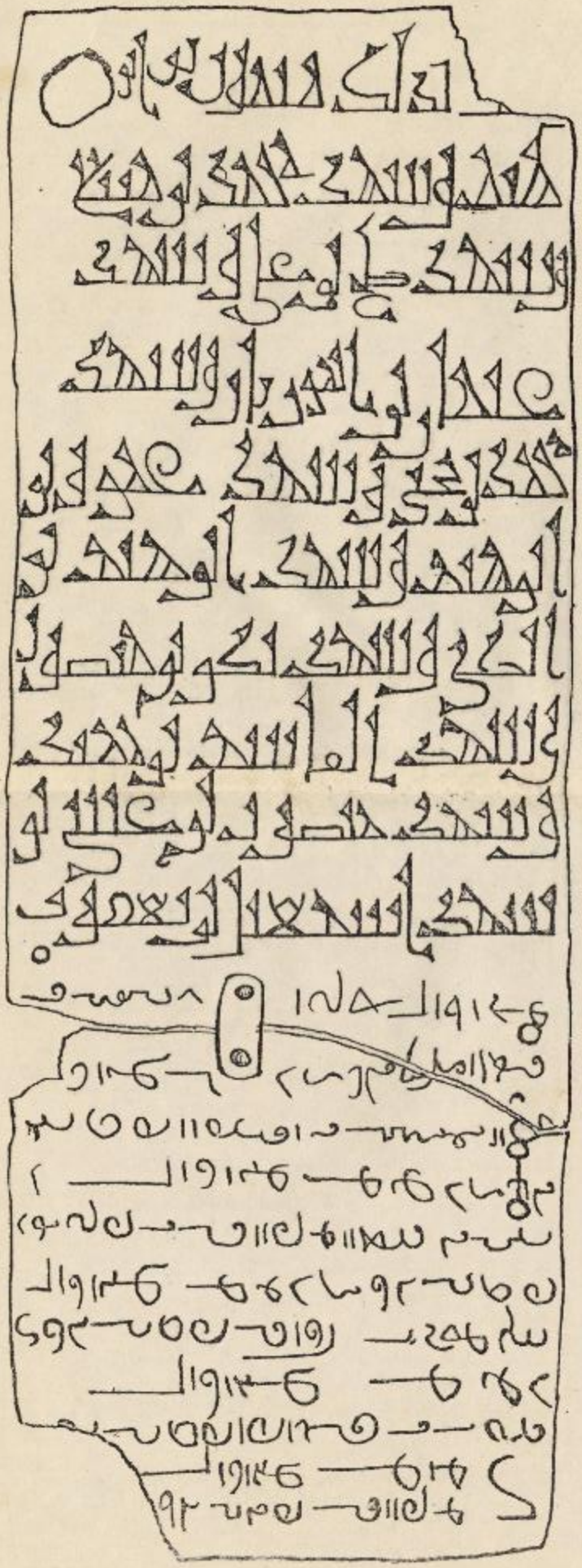
Madras Journ. Lit. and Science.

Fac-simile of a Copper Sasanam in the possession
of the Syrian Christians at Mallabar.



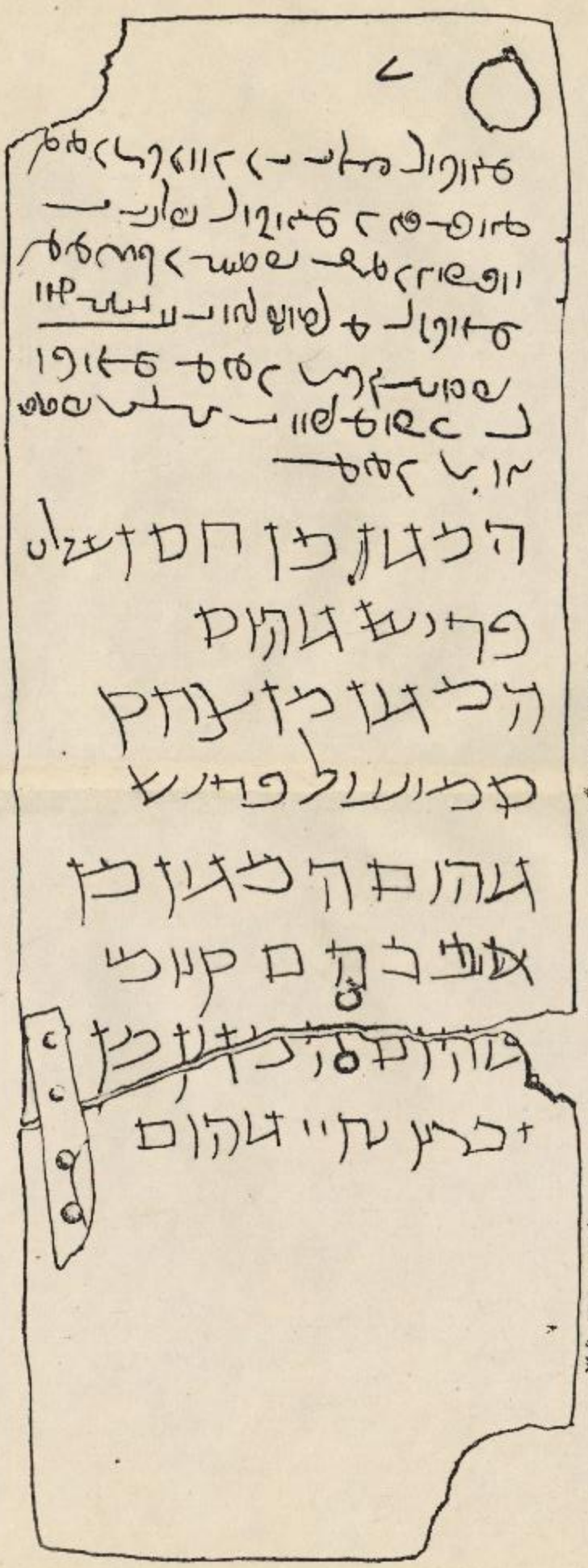
Walter Elliot Esqr. del.

At Copper Plate



Madras Jour. Lit. and Science

Fac-simile of a Copper Sasanam in possession of the Syrian Christians of Malabar.



5th Copper plate.

Walter Elliot scrip.

much appearance of fruit; and the paucity of the result, though matter of regret in itself, is yet of consequence to be known, in estimating the Mackenzie Manuscripts: a most valuable portion of which was supposed to be the Inscriptions, or copies of Inscriptions, therein contained.

Madras, 10*th* *August* 1844.

W. Taylor.

*** *The work, herein reported, was done in* 1838.

III.—*Translation and Analysis of the ancient documents engraved on copper in possession of the Syrian Christians and Jews of Malabar. By the Rev. H. Gundert.*

As it does not seem that the Jewish and Syrian documents preserved in Cochin and Cottayam have been sufficiently made use of for the purpose of elucidating the ancient history of this coast, any endeavour to set their contents before the learned public may surely command some attention. But there is good reason to expect that the discovery of an intimate connexion between the contents of the several documents settling the doubts about the existence of Jewish and Christian principalities in the Malayalam country will call forth a new and more diligent investigation than has ever been bestowed on these valuable records.

The Syrian tables for an insight and fac-simile of which I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Mr. Baily at Cottayam, are